2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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401 727 177 a sharp stone, for Mr. Mariner to force it open with; he opened it in the proper way, and shewed them the works; several endeavoured to seize hold of it at once, and he who got it ran away with it, and all the rest after him. In about an hour they returned with the watch completely broken to pieces. One had the case, another the broken dial, and the wheels and works were distributed among them. They then gave him the fragments, and made signs to him to put it together, and make it do as it did before: upon which he gave them to understand that they had killed it, and that it was impossible to bring it to life again. The man who considered it his property exclaimed *mow-mow* (spoiled!), and made a hissing noise, expressive of disappointment: he accused the rest of using violence, and they in return accused him and one another. Whilst they were thus in high dispute there came another native, who had seen and learned the use of a watch on board a French ship; when he understood the cause of their dispute, he called them all *cow valè* (a pack of fools), and explained, in the following manner, the use of the watch: making a circle in the sand, with sundry marks about its circumference, and turning a stick about the centre of the circle, to represent an index, he informed them that the use of the watch was to tell where

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the sun was; that when the sun was in the east the watch would point to such a mark, and when the sun was highest it would point here, and when in the west it would point there; and this, he said, the watch would do, although it was in a house, and could not see the sun; and in the night-time, he added, it would tell what portion of a day's length it would be before the sun would rise again. It would be difficult to convey an adequate idea of their astonishment: one said it was an animal, another said it was a plant; and when this man told them it was manufactured, they all exclaimed *Fonnooa boto!* what an ingenious people! All this Mr. Mariner collected partly by their gestures, and afterwards more fully when he understood their language, and conversed with this man, who always prided himself upon his knowledge of the use of a watch, calling himself Papalangi (an European).

About the 20th of December, Mr. Mariner returned to Lefooga along with Finow. His life was still not only uncomfortable, but often exposed to many dangers, or, at best, he suffered many insults from the wantonness and malevolence of the lower orders. Tooi Tooi was by no means his friend, but, on the contrary, endeavoured to persuade Finow to kill both him and the other Englishmen; lest a ship should

4: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1923 OU9 Tonga OU9



**Laalaakalae.** A forest clearing frequented by gallinules [laalaa, clearing in a forest; kalae, gallinule (Porphyrio vitiensis)]. Tract on Taunga island (V)—Akauola, landlord. Also tract near Leimatua, village on Vavau island (V)—Fotu, landlord. 103

**Laalupe.** When the sun is high above the land, about 8 a.m. Tract on Kotu island (H). Also tract near Lotofoa, village on Foa island (H). [805]

**Laefefeka.** To have no shame [lae, forehead; fefeka, hard]. Tract on Niuafoou island (NF).

**Lafangafanga.** To spread out the sail. Tract near Haakili, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H).

**Lafi.** To hide. Tract on Niuafoou island (NF).

**Lafimoetala.** To get into a corner and tell [lafi, to get into a corner; moe, and; tala, to tell]. Tract near Tuanuku, village on Vavau island (V)—Ulukalala, landlord.

**Lafoou.** A new sail [la, sail; foou, new]. Part of Haakio, village on Vavau island (V). Also tract near Vaipoa, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord. Also tract near Faletanu, village on Niuafoou island (NF)—Fusitua, landlord.

**Lahakau.** Tract near Fatai, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract on Lofanga island (H). Tract near Tuanuku, village on Vavau island (V)—Ulukalala, landlord. Also tract on Niuafoou island (NF).

**Lahea.** Tract on Lofanga island (H). Also tract on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.

**Lahi Passage.** [Lahi, large]. Strait (T). Approach to Tongatabu harbor past Malinoa Island.

**Lahiki.** The sail of the double boat, kalia. Tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H).

**Laiatea.** Pineapple. Tract near Veitongo, village on Tongatabu island (T).

**Laike.** Tract near Pukotala, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.

**Laita.** Tract near Vaipoa, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord.

**Laitai.** Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).

**Laivana.** Tract near Mataaho, village on Niuafoou island (NF).

**Lakala.** To step over. Tract near Mataika, village on Vavau island (V).

**Lakakau.** Tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord.

**Lakanga.** The place in which to pass or hand a thing. Water on Tongatabu island (T). On the weather shore.

**Lakatau.** The passing of a season [laka, to pass; tau, season]. Tract near Afa, village on Tongatabu island (T).

**Lakepa.** Tongan rendering of Fijian Lakemba. Tract on Eua island (T)—Lasike, landlord. Also tracts near villages on Tongatabu island (T): near Haatafu, Neiafu—Lasike, landlord, Ahau—Lasike, landlord, Kolovai—Ata, landlord. (Named by two Fijians who settled there in time of present Ata's great grandfather), Kalaau—Lasike, landlord, Nukualofa, Tatakamotonga—Tungi, landlord, Navutoka—Lasike, landlord. Village on Tongatabu island. Also tract on Nomuka island (H)—Lasike, landlord. Also tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord. Also tract near Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H). Also tract near Ngaakau, village on Vavau island (V)—Fakafanua, landlord.

**Lakifue.** Cemetery and tract near Talasiu, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract on Pangaimotu island (T). Also tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island island (H). Also tract on Hunga island (V)—Fulivai, landlord.

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another but none of them enduring long. The same expression is also used, for example, for the rattling of the lid on a pot of boiling water. 539 821 183

**301. Kai tae tala:** Eating without telling.

Apparently this indicates primarily one who quietly takes food and eats it without inviting anyone to share it with him, or perhaps one who takes and eats food that belongs to another without saying anything to the owner. The expression is used now only of a wind that comes up suddenly without warning, although in this sense, of course, it is capable of a wide range of metaphorical employment. 539 264 422 [821]

**302. Lau matangi fai i fale:** Reckoning wind done in house. 539 821 [571]

Statements made by those who have not taken the measures necessary to ensure that their opinion is worth hearing.

**303. Tokelau i fale:** North in house.

Used of one who sitting inside a house talks about the wind, that it is north or south, without going outside to see how it actually is. So used of the man who freely gives his opinion about matters whose true state he has not the means to ascertain. [829]

**304. Toka mono agai:** Prepared with (for ?) its opposite.

A wind which blows in one direction but is certain to go around to another quarter, as do the strong gales that sometimes blow in Tonga during the summer months. Generally of things and circumstances that are bound to shift and be of a character opposite to that which they were at first. [132] [183]

**305. Hala pe Vai ka ko Vai:** The rain has missed but there will be rain. 539 821 805

*Vai-mua* (Earlier rain, or water) and *Vai-mui* (Later rain, or water) are the names of two moons in the Tongan calendar, corresponding roughly to February and March. If the rain expected in the former of these two wet months fails to appear there is still the later wet month to look for ward to. It is a counsel of courage, bidding us not lose heart immediately on the failure of one expected opportunity. [132]

**306. Tanaki kai fai ki Vai:** Collecting food for *Vai*, the rainy months, about February or January and March, when the native food supply is low. 539 261 183

This is an expression of careless indifference, almost of reproof, to deter one who desires to save food for another time. Why save? Let the lean months look after themselves. [132]

**307. Ka ai ha ofa pea tali ki Uluenga:** If there is any kindness (to do) then wait till Uluenga. 539 571 183

*Uluenga* is the name of one of the Tongan divisions of the year, about October or November, when the food supply is scanty. The idea, therefore, [805]

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**399. Malimali loto:** Smiling (in the) heart. 539 152 828

Satisfaction with what is one's own; self-satisfaction. The expression is said to have originated with the handsome man *(manaia)* Vainuku who lived in Eua where he had a little pool of water which he used as a mirror. When he saw the reflection of his handsome face the sight filled him with pleasure, made his heart smile. The pool itself was named *Malimali loto.*

**400. Mata mea fooua:** Seeing a new thing.

Indicative of the surprise and gratification experienced at beholding an unaccustomed sight. (See No. 267.)

**401. Pauu afi mata:** Mischievousness pulling down lower lid of the eye. 539 201 578 522

To pull down the lower lid of one's eye at a person is an insulting gesture; but this phrase refers apparently to one who should be so impudent as to do it to the eye of another, as for example a pert child treating thus his mother's eye. The expression means excessively impudent or mischievous.

**402. Tuai e kemo:** The wink (is) slow. 539 805

Instantaneous, very quick, literally much quicker than a wink of the eyes.

PERSONAL APPEARANCE

**403. Finemotua fie finemui:** Old woman wanting to be young woman. 539 561 888

A rebuke to the lady who refuses to grow old gracefully; but strives to cheat the advancing years with the adornments and manners that befit the young and fair.

**404. Mata kovi ka nae fili ekita:** Ugly but I chose myself. 539 832 581

The most direct application of this is to a man who has taken to wife a lady not specially dowered with beauty. She is not handsome but she is the choice of her husband.

**405. Uliuli a fine Eua:** The dark complexion of a Eua woman. 539 832 562 184

The women of Eua were not reckoned beauties, but were well looked after and hard to come at. If a boat called at Eua the women would freely move about and perform the tasks incidental to the entertainment of the visitors, but at night were shut up and carefully guarded. The expression refers slightingly to these ladies, who, in spite of their lack of charm, were jealously watched.

**406. Jiiji a pakiji:** The wiry man is lean. 539 826

The word *pakiji* means lean but strong. There is a certain redundancy in saying that such a strong wiry man is thin.

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821 attracted little attention. Likewise among modern Tongans eclipses do not excite very great awe, but there is some disposition to regard them as ominous, especially an eclipse of the moon in which the shadowed planet has a ruddy tinge. It is not unlikely that this modern attribution of ominousness has arisen from certain expressions in the Bible, especially as interpreted by those sects that emphatically teach the existence of occult relations between such phenomena and human history.

## THE TONGAN CALENDAR

### LONG PERIODS OF TIME

805 The word *tau*, used in modern Tonga as the equivalent of the English year, means also the yam crop, and although it is possible that before the advent of Europeans this word signified the annual circuit of the seasons, there can be little doubt that primarily it refers to the yam.

There seems to have been no system whereby numbers of years were counted. The practice, still prevalent enough, was to reckon long periods by comparison of notable incidents, of generation with generation or of man with man. As a countryman may say that a certain event happened the year that the red cow died, or just before the drought or the flood, so the Tongan reckoned by such things as [551] war, festival, drought, and hurricane. It is not uncommon to find personal names commemorating the fact that their bearers entered life contemporaneously with the occurrence of some outstanding event. The Tongan of today, like the European who employs such methods, proceeds to translate his date when located into calendar years and months.

The life of man is frequently used as a standard. In answer to the question when such a thing happened one may get such replies as "I was a child running about at the time." "I was a young man." "My mother told him that it occurred just before I was born." In the same way people speak of their ages. One may say that he is of the same generation (*toutangata*) as another man; a very aged man may be spoken of as having outlived all his con-

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temporaries. A number of elderly people and even some children do not know their ages, but the proportion is probably less in this generation than in the last. The habit of counting years is becoming common. Government requirements of registration and the practice of entering the ages of children in school rolls lead naturally to this result.

The life of the individual is divided into a number of periods which give a rough indication of age. The child is first *huhu* (at the breast), then *mavae* (weaned). This latter word however does not give a very close approximation to a child's age as understood by a European, as many children continue to suck the breast, though eating other food, for two years or more. Other words in the stages of life are, *tateka* (crawling about), *totuu* (commencing to stand), *akoako hacle* (learning to walk), *hacle* (walking), *lele holo* (running about), *fangafanga* (hair cut short on the top but left at the sides)—a custom that has largely fallen into disuse.

From childhood on different words are used of men and women. A general word for boy is *tamajii*. As he grows up he is *talavou jii* (little, young, young man), *talavou* (young man), *tangata* (man)—a word of very wide application—*fatu tangata* (middle-aged man), *fatu tangata motua* (late middle-aged man), *vaivai* (old, literally weak), *veetolu* (three-legged, that is supporting himself on his staff), *auau* (going down, failing). So too a man may be described as *motua aupito* (very old), or *unu* (shedding skin).

Words descriptive of the growing girl and woman are *taahine* (general word for girl), *huhu tutuu* (breast forming), *finemui jii* (little, young, young woman), *fefine* (general word for woman), *fatu fefine* (middle-aged woman), and so on as for men with the necessary alterations of *tangata* (man) to *fefine* (woman).

A man is frequently called *motua* and a woman *finemotua*. These words properly indicate a man who has begotten and a woman who has borne children.

By the use of such words it is possible to locate comparatively recent events: for example, a man may say that such a war was fought when his father was a young man. More remote occurrences may be reckoned by generations. For example, "It is

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805 three generations since this happened" or "It occurred when my father's father was a child."

A general word for long ago, ancient times, is *onoaho*, as *onoponi* is used for recent time, the present age. There are several expressions for remote antiquity, as, *Hau o Momo* (when Momo was king), *Hau o Tuitatui* (when Tuitatui was king), *Hau o Muni Matamahae* (when Muni of the Torn Eye was king), *Hau o Motuku Veevalu* (when Motuku Veevalu, literally Eight-legged, was king). There are of course other words meaning uncountable, long enduring, which may be used to express the same idea of remotest antiquity.

### SEASONS AND MONTHS

The Tongan year is said to have begun at about the same time as the Christian year, though no satisfactory explanation is given. [171] Gill[11] states that the Mangaians begin their year about the middle of December, the point of departure being marked by the appearance of the Pleiades on the eastern horizon just after sunset. This or some similar astronomical phenomenon may possibly have determined the beginning of the Tongan year.

[821] [132] The two broad divisions of the year, in one of which the days and nights are cooler than in the other, were recognized and used to classify seasons. Close observation of the habits of plants and 805 of animals provided a basis for more exact division. The times 824 when certain trees cast their leaves, flowered, or bore fruit were 825 utilized in making the calendar, as were also the periods when par- 805 ticular fish appeared. The greatest importance attaches to the 244 various stages of the growth of the yam. A large part of the nomenclature of the moons is based on seasonal changes observed in this plant.

805 The normal year consisted of twelve months, though some years had thirteen. The nomenclature is largely agricultural, but there seems no reason to doubt the statement that the names were applied to the moons. The months and the commonly received explanations of their names are as follows:

[113] [11] Gill, W. W., Myths and songs from the South Pacific, p. 317, London, 1876.

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1. **Liha-mua:** Early nit, December-January. This is the time when the first planted yams are forming roots. At this stage of growth little protuberances or roughnesses, like nits, appear on the heads of the roots. The name is also explained in a more general way. Many fish spawn at this time, and many trees show tiny fruits. A word for little things is nitlike, *ngalihaliha*, and the month is said to be so called because many things are "nitlike" at this period.

2. **Liha-mui:** Late nit. January-February. All the yams, late as well as early, show the little nitlike protuberances.

3. **Vai-mua:** Early rain (water). February-March. The first rainy month.

4. **Vai-mui:** Late rain. March-April. The second rainy month.

5. **Fakaafu-moui:** Putting forth living shoots. April-May. This is a time of vigorous growth with healthy suckers and shoots appearing on many plants. The word *afu* applies especially to the suckers of the *hiapo* (paper mulberry), but is also used more widely. The *fuji* (plantain) and *fau* (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*) should now be planted.

6. **Fakaafu-mate:** Dead, dying, suckers or shoots. May-June. Suckers are now not so vigorous, and dead tops of the yams appear.

7. **Hilinga-kelekele:** Laying earth, that is, either laying of earth or laying on earth. June-July. This is the month in which to start digging the yams. One explanation of the meaning of the name is that the harvested yams with earth adhering to them were laid on platforms constructed in suitable places, as under a tree or in a house, and that the name owes its origin to the fact that the adhering earth was laid down with the yams. Another explanation is that the yams were taken up and laid on the surface of the ground. The two interpretations are not inconsistent, for yams laid on a platform might still be said to be put on the ground. The name itself does not convey a precise meaning.

8. **Hilinga-meaa:** Laying *meaa*. July-August. This is the time to dig and store the remaining yams. These late yams are the biggest, and a portion of the garden is reserved for the special sorts of yam which grow to the largest size. The literal meaning of *meaa* in this place is doubtful. An explanation connects the word with *umea* (clay), and is to the effect that the big yams grow down into the clay which adheres to the roots when dug: but this interpretation is more than doubtful.

9. **Aoao:** August-September. The literal meaning of *Aoao* is obscure; a derivation for the name has been suggested which connects it with *hau-aoa*, used of rotting yam seed. The time for cutting yam for seed is now over, and it is said that if seed be cut in this month a considerable proportion of it will rot.

10. **Fuufuunekinanga:** Full leafiness. September-October. The yams, which have been planted about June and July, are now in full leaf.

11. **Ulu-enga:** Yellow head. October-November. This name is referred both to sea and land. Several sorts of fish are at a stage in their

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growth when their heads are yellow under the scales. Ashore this is a time of scarcity, whence the proverb, *Ka ai ha ofa tatali ki Uluenga.* If there is any kindness (gift) wait till Uluenga, when presents of food will be most useful. When yams are dug a small piece of the root is sometimes thrown back into the hole. These pieces grow into yams, which though small are deep in the ground on account of the manner of their planting. During the time of scarcity people search for these little yams, and in bending down to throw the soil out of the deep holes they are likely to make themselves yellow-headed.

221 805 244 12. **Tanu-manga:** Throwing soil on branch, fork. November-December. A growing yam is likely to project slightly above the ground, and frequently a small yam grows down from the same stem thus making a branch or fork on the head of the root. In this month if the head of a yam appears forked (*manga*), the gardener banks it over with soil (*tanu*).

With Tanumanga the year normally ends. If, however, observation of the yam and other plants and of fishes at the next new moon fails to discover the appearances proper to the month with which the year begins, Lihamua, another month is intercalated.

221 805 415 13. **Ooa-ki-fangongo:** Using a coconut-shell as basket. *Ooa* is said to be a reduplicated form of *oa*, one sort of basket; *fangongo* is an empty coconut-shell cut open and used as a receptacle for small things. This is a time of scarcity, and the idea is that one needs but a small receptacle in which to place his food.

## NIGHTS OF THE MONTH

805 With the Tongans, as with other Polynesians, it is habitual to count by nights rather than by days. Where the English speaker says "five days after" the Tongan says "five nights after." An intelligent Tongan suggests as a reason that his people treat the hours of daylight and of the succeeding darkness as one day and that in reckoning the closing portion of the day is considered.

The division of the month was based on the phases of the moon, and the days or nights were counted within the month, several of the nights having special names. Expressed perhaps in a better way, there were special names for the moon in several of
805 her phases. The fisherman has strong reasons for close observance
226 of the moon, as some days are *aho ika*, fish days, favorable for the catching of certain sorts of fish. These fish days evidently vary with different localities and for different species of fish.

805 821 It is asserted that the appearance of the moon in a looking-

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glass, probably a pool of water in former days, indicates the night of the month. The theory is that when the moon is thus viewed she does not appear single, but behind the image of the moon itself there is a reflection or shadow, giving the image of another moon. Sometimes one, sometimes more of these reflections appear, and according to the number of moons showing in the glass one may know what night of the month it is. Nights are named *faka-ua*, two-wise, *faka-tolu*, three-wise, and so on. On a two-wise night two moons appear in the glass, on a three-wise night three moons, and four-wise, five-wise, six-wise, seven-wise, and eight-wise nights appear to be recognized.

When the moon is looked at in a glass these subsidiary images certainly do appear, in varying number, but the appearance is affected by the quality of the glass and by the way in which it is held. Personal trial has yielded very unsatisfactory results, and Tongans who explain this method of reckoning nights do not seem very sure of its application.

In listing the Tongan nights it is impossible to be quite certain of some details, as excellent informants vary slightly in their accounts. One man, for instance, begins his count of the nights from that called *aho oe toutai*, sailor's day; another regards this as the second night of the month. It is not certain how far the "two-wise, three-wise" system of reckoning extended, either in an ascending series of the waxing moon or in a descending series of the waning moon, but it does not seem to have gone beyond eight or possibly nine. The words *aho*, day, or *po*, night, are freely interchangeable. But while there may be errors in detail the main outlines of the system are clear.

**Po ae faahikehe:** Night of the spirit. This is a night on which the moon is not visible to men; she is still below the horizon, and seen only by the gods. It is said that the horizon glows for a considerable time after sunset on this day. This is the shining of the yet invisible moon. This night may be considered either as the first of the month or as a spirit's night lying loose between months and left out of the count of human nights. I am unable to determine whether or not it should be counted as the first, but on the whole think it best to start with the next night.

1. **Po ae toutai:** Sailor's night. The moon is still invisible to landsmen but seen by those who are at sea.

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9. **Faka-ua:** Two-wise, and so on to the eighth, *faka-valu*, to which a special name seems to have been applied, *punifanga* (shutting the circle formed by the brow and top of the head). The moon is now shaped like the front of the top of the human face and head. This name may have been applied to the following night also.

10. **Fuofua-vale:** Incomplete—the moon almost full.

11. **Mahina katoa:** All moon, that is, full moon.

12. **Fe-aho-aki:** Caught between two days. When the sun has set the moon has already appeared above the horizon, and when the sun rises on the following morning the moon is still in the sky.

13. **Uluaki ahoia:** First "caught by daylight," "out all night." If one stays up all night and is still up at sunrise he is said to be *ahoia*, "day-ed." So on this night the moon is still up when the sun rises.

Then follow second, third, and so on *ahoia* nights, when the moon is caught in the sky by the rising sun, but the interval between sunset and moonrise gradually gets longer, till at last there is a night when the moon does not appear at all but is *mate*, dead. This night is the end of the month and immediately precedes Po ae faahikehe, night of the spirit.

In counting the waning moons a nomenclature is employed similar to that used in reckoning the waxing moon, but in the reverse direction. *faka-valu*, eight-wise, *faka-fitu*, seven-wise, on down to *faka-ua*, two-wise which immediately precedes the night on which the moon is dead. This nomenclature seems to run parallel with the reckoning of the *ahoia* nights for a portion of the waning moon.

[262] Ma-tofi, which means sliced *ma* (a food made by burying and fermenting breadfruit or plantain), is a name applied to the waning moon on the second *ahoia* night, when it presents the appearance of a large lump of this food with a piece sliced off the side. A European parallel would be a cheese with a piece cut off one side.

Kalipa is used to describe the moon when rather less than half and on the few succeeding nights, starting from about the time when the waning moon is *faka-valu*, eight-wise.

One informant applied the words Kalipa, Ma-tofi, and Fuofua-vale (noted above of the waxing and almost full moon) indifferently to the waxing and waning moon.

Lekeleka-mate, almost dead (?), is applied to the moon as it appears on the few nights shortly before its disappearance at the end of the month.

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### DIVISIONS OF NIGHT AND DAY

Following are a number of terms descriptive of various periods of the night and day, forming a more or less rough and ready time system. Starting from sunset and advancing through the night and the succeeding day these terms are:

1. **To ae laa:** Sunset.
2. **Fellolongaki:** Recognizing. There is still sufficient light for people to recognize each other at a considerable distance.
3. **Uuli-kelekele:** Dark earth. It is now a little darker, and the face of the earth is begining to appear black.
4. **Femauaki ae pouli:** Dark obtaining everywhere. The darkness is enveloping all things.
5. **Tu mama:** Lamp lighting. Doubt is expressed as to whether or not this is ancient, though the Tongans employed artificial lighting before the coming of Europeans.
6. **Ha ae otu kaveinga:** The ranks of the constellations appear.
7. **Kau pouli:** Darkness bodied forth, black night.
8. **Tuua-po:** Night standing (?). Frequently with the addition of *malie*, exact, Tuua-po malie. The middle of the night.
9. **Vale po:** Night of no account (literally); indicates the same period of far-advanced night as Tuua-pomalie. This term relates perhaps primarily to dances and games, indicating that the night is so far spent that the main part of the amusements is over and the chief spectators and actors gone. What remains is of no account, the unconsidered amusement of such as choose to prolong the entertainment. This explanation though offered by a very intelligent Tongan seems very doubtful.
10. **Mafuli ae Kaniva:** The Milky Way turned. The Milky Way has turned so far that it is pointing to the east where the sun will soon rise.
11. **Moa mua:** First cock. Earliest cock crow, probably considerably earlier in Tonga than in higher latitudes.
12. **Tataki aho:** Leading in day.
13. **Fakaholo-fononga or Fakanala-fononga:** Making journey advance. This indicates the appearance of a star which is known to rise not long before dawn. Its appearance cheers travelers with the promise of approaching day.
14. **Moa mui:** Later cock (crow).
15. **Fetuu Aho:** Day star. The name is applied to Venus during her early morning appearances more than to any other star, but may indicate any bright star whose rising closely precedes the dawn.
16. **Ata a puaka:** Shadow of pig. This phrase is applied to much the same time as that marked by the appearance of the day star. The

9: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1922 OU9 Tonga OU9



805 [231]

idea is said to be that this is the time when the pigs wake and begin to move about; there is not yet enough light for them to be distinctly visible, but they appear merely as dark blots or shadows.

17. **Ata:** Shadow, slight appearance. This is explained in the same way as the preceding, but with the reference to men instead of to pigs.

18. **Mafoa ae ata:** Breaking of the shade; possibly, crack of the upper air. Dawn.

19. **Hengihengi:** Very early morning.

20. **Maa ae aho:** The day clear. Just about sunrise.

21. **Hopo ae laa:** Sunrise.

22. **Uhu,** a general term for the early morning.

23. **Pongipongi,** a general term for about sunrise to midday, like the English morning.

[231] 24. **Fangai-lupe:** Feeding pigeon. Time for those in charge of the tame pigeons to feed the birds. For Samoa this is about 9 a. m."; for Tonga Baker[12] gives it as about 9 till 11 a. m.

25. **Pale ki hahake:** Slanting to east. The morning hours before the sun has come to the meridian.

26. **Tuutonu malie ae laa:** The sun standing straight, that is, midday. Another expression for this is Hoata or Hoata malie.

27. **Pale ki hihifo:** Slanting to west. The sun has now passed the meridian. Afternoon.

28. **Efiafi:** Afternoon. A general word, usually applied to late afternoon and frequently to the earlier hours of darkness, like the English evening.

29. **Hopo ae moa:** The fowl jumping, that is, the fowl going to roost. Although clocks have become fairly common, yet the Tongans frequently express the time of day by the position of the sun. An expression for "now," "this present time," is *feitun lua ni*, this place of the sun. Frequently in answer to a question as to when a thing did or will occur, the Tongan points to the sky and says, the sun was, or will be, there.

Other Tongan expressions are:

Apongipongi, tomorrow; Anoiha, the day after tomorrow; Moitolu, three days hence; Aneafi, yesterday; Aneheafi, the day before yesterday; Tua-aneheafi, the day before the day before yesterday.

### MISCELLANEOUS TERMS

821 1. **Tapukitea,** Venus when she appears in the evening (compare Samoan *Tapuitea*, the evening star).

[12] Pratt, op. cit. See the word *fagailupe:* Brown, op. cit., p. 348.

[12] Baker, S. W., An English and Tongan and Tongan and English Vocabulary, Auckland, 1897. See the word *fagailube*.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai



in a small income obtained from school-teaching or functioning as a minor civil-servant after college graduation. Here again however, college life does not represent any particular break with typical Tongan activities. College youth are expected to spend part of each day working on the college plantation raising their own food-staples. During out-of-college hours they are generally associated with the households of friends or relatives in Tongatapu. Their vacations are either spent with their own households in Pangai or else working at Tongan things in Tongatapu.

In sum, Tongan schooling may not be particularly efficient; but at least the directors of Tongan education have not made the educational process an effective instrument for separating the Tongan child from the satisfactions of his own culture and equally, from the satisfactions of European culture. Education in Pangai has been allowed to gear itself into the present-day patterns of village-culture with results that are adequate in almost every respect.

The establishment of schools with the structure of a formal educational system has been one of the most effective forces in changing the culture of the villagers from primitive to folk-culture. Nevertheless it is easy to overassess the role that literacy plays in village-life. The large majority of the villagers are able to write the Tongan language. Most of them can read Tongan. To what use however, are these abilities put? As far as one can judge there is very little use made of writing except in the very occasional signing of one's name to some legal or government document. The writing of letters is infrequent. The attitude of the villager here is that everything can wait until personal contact is established, either by personal visiting or by the use of a visiting intermediary. Similarly, the use of reading-skills is very limited. Its principal use for most is that of reading such familiar material as Bible-lessons or church hymns. Children in school naturally use simple reading-texts with secular topics. With school-days far behind, however, the Bible becomes all-important and here one's ability to read is sometimes almost entirely limited to its use in reviving memory of key-words in sacred texts that are otherwise well-remembered but temporarily forgotten. Some households also possess the single-paged printed combination almanac-

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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805 [213] calendar issued by the government printer. The only virtue of this calendar seems to lie in its possession, not in its use. Dated days are of no significance to the villager except to mark off one Sunday from another and this function is performed equally well or better by church-bell and pulpit-announcement.

212 [644] [793] So far we have been referring to the average villager. The village-overseer and the church-pastor make more use of reading and writing than the villager. For them these techniques are necessary for the study of government or church reports and notices, for the compilation in turn of their own reports. A few others in the village may also try to make effective use of their reading ability. Thus a village 212 875 829 school teacher, home in Pangai on vacation, had developed an interest in world affairs through a chance gift of a copy of *Reader's Digest*. Even the simplified English of this magazine was much too difficult for him, and it is doubtful whether he will long keep up his study of the magazine. One [554] [123] suspects that his initial and only interest in it was based on the prestige gained among his fellow-villagers by his apparent ability to discuss with us "in English" obscure subjects whose text was so obviously derived from what to the ordinary villager was the very mysterious page of an English-language magazine.

212 [451] Another villager interested in the use of his skills is Biukala. He carries on a very simplified book-keeping to provide a rough check on the sales of his garden-produce. He is an assiduous student of Biblical commentaries which he borrows from the missionaries in Neiafu. He writes an 212 occasional letter to his aged mother in Tongatapu. He is very keenly interested in keeping alive these skills which he 177 has observed white men such as church-missionaries using so 829 frequently. Here the incentive to use reading and writing techniques of white culture is far stronger than for the average villager. But this comes about from the fact that Biukala, for obscure personality reasons, is much more interested in adapting himself to the white man's culture than he is to the folk-culture of the village. This is particularly evident when Biukala talks of the future he has planned for his son, now a child of barely two years. For this child he talks of professions such as engineering,

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9



graphy of the world, than we are at present aware of. And, in conjunction with that knowledge, there may have been migrations of nations, and the peopling of distant and isolated localities, by those among whom there existed a religion more advanced and enlightened than the debased and puerile belief and worship of modern heathenism. After a lapse of four thousand years, there remains a feeble glimmer of truth amid the fables and traditions of a multitude of distinct and widely-separated tribes of men. The general coincidence of these seems to indicate one common primeval source. There can be no doubt that the Tonguese religion bore, in several particulars, a striking resemblance to the ritual and economy of the Jewish ceremonial law. Indeed, this similarity prevails more or less in the various groups of Polynesia. Nor can it be denied that many of the inhabitants have strongly-marked Jewish features. But it requires further research, and more proof, before we can adopt the conclusion some have come to, that any portion of the people is of Israelitish extraction. A few of these points of resemblance may here be specified as a matter of interest.

1. There obtained among the Tonguese a regular division of time into months and years, these divisions being marked by the recurrence of sacred seasons and public feasts; which were observed with religious ceremony, and were under the sanction of the most rigorous laws. It is also remarkable that the Tonguese have some knowledge of an intercalary month, the use or disuse of which has led to many discussions among themselves.

2. The entire system of *Tabu*, by which times, persons, and places or things were made sacred,

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

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**"Taimi fakatonga,"** an expression referring to leisurely "Tongan time," allows man the prerogative of being master of time. (*Above:* Ha'asini, Tongatapu. *Opposite:* Pangai, Ha'apai.)

**Oku meimei fa'iteliha pe e Tonga kotoa ki he taimi 'e fai ai 'a'ene ngaue. Ko e 'uhinga ia 'o e kamata ngaue'aki e lea ko e "taimu fakatonga." Na'e fai e ta 'i 'olunga 'i Ha'asini, Tongatapu, pea ko e ta 'i to'omata'u na'e fai ia 'i Pangai, Ha'apai.**

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

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[caption for this photo is on p. 68]

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9



that it almost reach[ed] his shoulder. The red feathers so often mentioned in this Narrative all come from Fidgee, as also some of their finest Striped and chequered Cloth and a few other articls. The demand for feathers is so great that it frequently occasions quarrels for if the people of Fidgee refuse to Trade, the others rather than go without will fight for them, so at least I have been told. Now I am again with Canibals, let me ask those men who Mentain that the want of food first brings men to this Custom, what it is that induceth them to keep it up in the midst of plenty? As these people have no method of Measuring the distance from island to island but by the time required to sail it in one of their canoes it was necessary to know or at least to form some judgement how far they can sail in a moderate gale in any given time. With this View I went on board one of them when under sail, and by several tryals with the log found she went Seven knots or mile in an hour, close hauled in a gentle gale. From this I judge they will sail on a medium with such breezes as generally blow in their sea about seven or eight miles in an hour; but the length of each day is not to be reckoned at twenty four hours, for when they speak of one days sail, they mean no more than from the evening to the Morning of the same day,[1] that is ten or twelve hours at most. And two days sail signifies, from the Morning of the first day to the evening of the second and so for any other number of days. In these Navigations the Sun is their guide by day and the Stars by night, when these are obscured they have recourse to the points from whence the Wind and waves of the Sea come upon the Vessel. If during the obscuration both the wind and the waves shift (which seldom happens at any other time within the limets of the trade wind) they are then bewildered, frequently miss their intended port and are never heard of more.

Of all the harbours and Anchoring places I have met with about these islands that of Tongatabu is by far the best, not only from its great security but for capacity and the goodness of its bottom. The risk we ran in entering it from the North ought to be a sufficient caution never to attempt that passage again with a Ship of burden, sence the other is so much more easy and safe. To sail into it by this eastern Channel, steer in for the NE point of the island and keep a long the North Shore with the sm[l] isles on your Starb[d] till you are the length of the east point of the entrance into the Lagoon, then edge over for the reef of the isles and follow its direction and it will Con-

[1] Cook has evidently slipped here, and intended 'from the morning to the evening': the correction was thus made in *Voyage*, I, p. 376. The Log, Adm 55/111, has a marginal pencil note in an eighteenth-century hand, 'should be vice versa'.

64: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970,1971) 1976 OU9 Tonga OU9



this will be an indication that the basic fabric of their culture and society has shifted.

## NOTES

1. This is a revised version of a paper presented at the Third Annual Meeting of the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania (March 13-17, 1974) for a Symposium on "Alcohol and Kava Use in the Pacific Islands." Research was conducted in Tonga from July to October of 1970 and from August to October of 1971. In the intervening months archival research was conducted in the major libraries of Fiji, New Zealand, and Australia, with most of the research being done in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, Australia.
2. There is at least one other alcohol-dispensing club in the Kingdom, namely the "Vava'u Club" in Vava'u. Since my work in Tonga a new hotel has opened in Vava'u, and alcohol prices probably follow the prices of the hotels on Tongatapu. It should be pointed out that in 1970 and 1971 the various clubs and hotels were selling beverages in obvious violation of Tonga's "Blue Laws" which (theoretically) forbid essentially all non-religious business activities on Sundays.
3. For further information on rank and title see Urbanowicz 1973:114.
4. Tongans not only presented *kava* roots to important individuals but also took *kava* roots on visits to important places. The Wesleyan Missionary W. Cross, in the islands from 1827 to 1833 and again from 1834 to 1835, pointed this out: "The [Tongan] Chief observed that on former occasions when they visited and [*sic.*] island it was their custom to take large pieces of *kava* for the gods; and that to Nomuka alone they used to take at least 10 pieces" (Cross 1830b).
5. A similar detailed description from Hobbs supports the idea of title removal and land distribution at a kava ceremony: "A 'fai Kava' i.e. meeting for drinking Kava took place at Nuku'alofa on Tuesday the 18th at which [Jiosaia] Tubou presided of course as the Tui-kanokubolu. Taufa-ahou [also known as King George Tupou] and all the other principal persons were there, and word was sent to Lavaka at the Bea to come and attend before our people and Taufa-ahou left the Island, but Lavaka [still] refused. The ceremony therefore proceeded without Lavaka. THE PRINCIPAL OBJECT OF THE KAVA MEETING WAS TO STATE OFFICIALLY FROM THE TUI-KANOKUBOLU WHO WAS THE [N] [TO] OCCUPY THE GOVERNMENT IN THE DIFFERENT DISTRICTS IN TONGA since the rebellion: and the principal things affected by this appointment are as follows: Old Fatu who was the 1st heathen [or non-Wesleyan] chief who submitted, and who had now come to Nukualofa to the Tui-kanokubolu has got a considerable augmentation of his power in being appointed Tui-Hahake. OLD LAVAKA IS OFFICIALLY DEPRIVED OF ALL HIS POWER BY THE APPOINTMENT OF OLD SIMI AND FOKE as Tuihaamea, because the fortress at the Bea stands in Haamea" [all STRESS added] (Hobbs *Journal*: April 22, 1837).
6. I witnessed a *Taumata kava* ceremony on the island of 'Eua over the period 14 September to 17 September, 1971, having travelled to the island with the royal part on *H.M.V. Kao*. I route to 'Eua from the island of Tongatapu, a journey of some four hours, I was fortunate to have approximately a three hour and forty-five minute private discussion with His Majesty King Taufa'ahou Tupou IV (on just about everything under the Tongan sun, including *kava*). Much of my thinking about *kava* has been influenced by my discussions with His Majesty AS WELL AS by numerous discussions with other Tongans, of all ranks. I also took part in numerous kava ceremonies in Tonga occasionally where I was treated as the guest of honor.
7. The *'inasi* ceremony was not only an important ceremony in aboriginal Tongan society but it also had parallels in other parts of Polynesia (Goldman 1970:134; and Sahlins 1958:24-25). The Tongans were a horticultural people and indeed, today, agriculture along with "tourism" are the mainstays of the Tongan economy. The yam

64: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970,1971) 1976 OU9 Tonga OU9



651 649 776 782 241 805 or *'ufi* was the main crop and W. Cross wrote "the yam is a vegetable that is to the inhabitants of Tonga, what bread is to many in our native land" (Cross 1830a). The aboriginal Tongan names of the respective parts of the year were based on the lunar month and thirteen separately designated time periods (Dyson *Papers 1858-1908*: April 7, 1863). These names clearly show the importance of the yam to the Tongans and Thomas wrote that the month of June was termed "Hilinga kelekele" by the Tongans and that "they expect the soil to produce forth now" and of the yams at this time of the year that they are "the earliest and the best yams." For the month of October, Thomas wrote "Ooloo enga - Uluega" which is *'Ulenga* for "ooloo, the head, enga yellow" and at this time the yams "became yellow" (Thomas 1827: no page).

643 276 574 644 186 8. This same aspect of a "dual installation" also took place when His Majesty's mother, Queen Salote Tupou III, was installed as Queen in 1918 (after the death of her father, King George Tupou II). As Collocott pointed out: "a coronation ceremony in the European model was followed by a native installation with appropriate kava ceremony on the mala'e at Nuku'alofa" (1927:38).

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1830b [MS.] *Letter-Journal*, entry of July 24. Microfilm FM4/1417, reel 26; photocopy in A2837. Mitchell Library, Sydney (original in London).

127
651 ceremony which involved the presentation of produce and material goods
796 at certain times of the year. An ethnographic reconstruction of the
[121] Tongan ceremony can serve as a test of Sahlins and Goldman and can also contribute to ethnological comparisons in Polynesia.

244 The Tongans were a horticultural people and the yam, or 'ufi,
262 was the main crop. The Wesleyan missionary Cross stated "the yam is a vegetable that is to the inhabitants of Tonga, what bread is to many in our native land" (Cross, Letter-Journal entry of December 3, 1830).
805 The aboriginal Tongan names of the respective parts of the year, based
244 on the lunar month and thirteen separate designated time periods (Dyson, Journal, April 7, 1863), indicate the importance of the yam to the Tongans. Thomas wrote that the month of June was termed "Hilinga kelekele" by the Tongans and that "they expect the soil to produce forth now" (Thomas, MS. A1959: n.p.). He also wrote that the Tongans "expect the soil to produce forth now" and of the yams of this time period, that "this is the earliest and the best yams" (Ibid.). For the European month of October, Thomas wrote: "Ooloo enga - Uluega" which is 'Uluenga for "Ooloo, the head, enga yellow" and at this time the yams "become yellow" (Ibid.).

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797 Reading and extracting descriptions by the ethnohistorical
796 chronological-synchronous reading method reveals the changes in the individual missionary's reporting capabilities. These changes of the
651 observer to the observed are evident in the examples from Thomas' manuscript accounts describing the 'inasi, transcribed by Thomas as "inache" and "inaji." The first example is from Thomas' 1826 journal, when he

87: Wood M,Y-4,5 (no date) 1932 OU9 Tonga OU9



# GEOGRAPHY OF TONGA.

## THE TONGAN ISLANDS: THEIR POSITION AND FORMATION.

131 There are over 150 islands in the Tongan group, but most of them
[161] are very small and only 36 are inhabited. The total area is 269 square miles, and the population is 28,839. Thus Tonga is one of the smallest groups in the Pacific Ocean, very much smaller than Fiji or Samoa, for example.

631 The islands are divided into three main groups; these are, TOGA-
131 TABU in the south, HA'ABAI in the centre, and VAVA'U in the north. Ha'abai is an extensive archipelago of very small islands, but the Togatabu and Vava'u groups consist of one larger island as well as many small adjacent islands in each case. This division is not merely geographical
[504] but also commercial and political. The three ports of call are Nuku'alofa,
[634] the capital, in Togatabu; Lifuka, the main island of Ha'abai; and Neiafu, the chief village of Vava'u. The Government is represented by separate Governors in Ha'abai and Vava'u.

131 Although the total area of Tonga is so small, the islands are scattered over a comparatively wide expanse of the South Pacific Ocean, between 15° and 22° South Latitude and 173° and 175° West Longitude. The position of Togatabu is 21° South Latitude and 175° West Longitude. Vava'u is in approximately the same latitude as Townsville, and Togatabu as Mackay, North Queensland.

805 Tonga actually is in the Western Hemisphere, but in spite of this it observes eastern time, that is, the same time as places in the Eastern Hemisphere (Europe, Asia, etc., and as far as Fiji), and not the time of the Western Hemisphere (America, etc.). For instance, when it is 2.20 p.m. Thursday at Nuku'alofa, it is 2 p.m. at Suva, 1.30 p.m. at Auckland, 12 noon at Sydney and 2 a.m. at London—all these times being on Thursday—but it is Wednesday, 6 p.m. at San Francisco (U.S.A.)
805 and 2.30 p.m. at Apia. Although it is 2.30 p.m. in Samoa when it is 2.20 p.m. in Tonga, nevertheless, the day is rightly called Wednesday
648 in Samoa, while in Tonga it is called Thursday, owing to the fact that, as Tonga's commercial dealings are chiefly with Australia, New Zealand and Fiji, it observes the same day as those countries.

131 Nuku'alofa is 2,000 miles direct from Sydney; by the steamer route, the distance is 1,740 miles from Sydney to Suva, and 430 miles from Suva to Nuku'alofa. The distance from Nuku'alofa to Auckland is 1,100 miles, about 50 miles less than from Suva to Auckland.

133 The Tongan Islands are called oceanic islands, as they are not close to a continent nor surrounded by shallow water, thus differing from continental islands like Great Britain. The ocean west of Tonga is less than two miles deep, but east of 'Eua it is over five miles deep; indeed, there is a very deep trough or ocean-valley, called the Tonga Deep, which passes east of Tonga and continues to the east of New Zealand, reaching a depth of nearly six miles off the Kermadec Islands between Tonga and New Zealand. The Tonga Deep is one of the deepest parts of the

181 /27 cont./
351 about the deterioration of various Tongan crafts (that is, caused
177 them to die out or become crude), the natives either having lost
461 interest entirely in the necessary work, or having adopted more convenient, in their eyes "more attractive," substitutes or means of production, often without acquiring a genuine understanding of the new /process/. (44)

44. In this connection see the origin and present aspect of the villages (p. 134 ff.) and the "modern" house types (p. 187 ff.).

181 The Tongan can still be regarded as undependable, insofar as he
805 often fails to keep promises or appointments made both with his /28/
822 own people as well as whites, without ever feeling as having committed
177 a discourtesy or even an injustice. The long European influence has also not been able, save for a few exceptions, to accustom the Tongan to the concept of time. In making appointments he frequently mixes up today and tomorrow, and especially, with the time of day and the hour, he is rather casual, even if he owns a watch. In Tonga where one lives far from the world's hustle and bustle, European dependability and punctuality, without which we can no longer manage in the complicated life of our large cities, are, of course, unnecessary.
[577] Not arriving on time, not keeping a promise won't matter much on the islands, and such a "lapse" is not held against anyone by the Tongans. This is simply natural in the Tongan way of life. However, in one
181 805 794 177 area the natives have become accustomed to a punctuality that can almost be called exactness, namely /the attendance at/ religious services. With old and new clocks they endeavor to keep to the time
[202] announced on individual radios or received from other islands in their group; promptly at the beginning of the frequent services (that is, on the dot if possible) the big drum is beaten or the bell rung and without delay they proceed to church where, usually next to the pulpit or the preacher's table, there is a pendulum clock or an alarm

181 /28 cont./
805 clock, so that the duration of the service will not exceed or fall
794 short of the prescribed length. (45)
177
[202]

45. On Nomuka, for example, the shrill ringing of the alarm clock often breaks into the final hymn.

All faiths in Tonga, especially the recently become independent Tongan churches, practice such punctuality, even though on most islands it has been many years since a white person has influenced the course of church life. This type of exactness is part of the Tongan religious feeling. The fact that this punctuality in church worship, practiced for decades, has not encroached on daily life proves this.

181 In general, the Tongan shows a piety which is undoubtedly not
791 inferior to that of his forefathers in pagan times, (46)
177

46. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 120/121, 135, also I. p. 108.

which probably increased during the change brought about by the influence of missions, and perhaps became even more profound because the new religion, Christianity, promised immortality even to commoners. (47)

47. A more specific description of changes in the religious area in the chapter on "Religion" pp. 369 ff.

181 The majority of Tongans are today definitely churchminded. However,
791 as in pre-Christian times, (48)

48. For example, J. Martin, loc, cit. I. pp. 159, 389.

there are definitely cases of skepticism /29/ about divine omnipotence, augmented to the point of open criticism or emphatic disbelief. (49)

49. Non-churchgoers, opposition to ecclesiastical moral code, atheism.

181 The Tongans have always been excellent speakers. Even for a
537

/83 cont./

851 followed by a small celebration.

527 852 The Tongans pay little attention to birthdays. Only the completed first year of a child is generally celebrated. The father's contribution to the festival is a well-filled earth oven (with pig[s], yams, taro, sweet potatoes, kape, manioc pudding, etc.), but the mother's relatives also generally contribute food (for example, a roast pig, a /84/ rich-cream cake, European-style), and there is an exchange of mat and tapa gifts. The celebration usually starts with a hymn and a prayer (this among the Wesleyans is often spoken by the pastor ), then follows the feast at which 20 or 30 relatives and friends take part and at which the mother with her one-year-old child is given the place of honor. After the meal, the group breaks up.

527 852 177 [805] This festival marking the completion of the first year of life, which is celebrated by commoners as well as chiefs, is, at least as far as the date is concerned, a European-influenced arrangement, for in ancient Tonga an accurate calendar was unknown and birthdays could not be determined. The prayer and the presence of a pastor also show European influence.

165 163 Infant mortality is average. For example, of the 25 children born on the small island of Nomuka in the course of a year, four died. Today, in general, the number of births by far surpasses the deaths in the total population. (238)

[113] 238. In 1950, for example, 1798 births and 501 deaths were registered in Tonga (Report of the Department of Justice for the Year 1950 /cited in English., Nuku'alofa 1951. pp. 3/4).

[161] Since Tongans in the past very probably never numbered more than 25,000 persons, (239)

239. Compare E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society. p. 4; W.C. McKern, Archaeology of Tonga /cited in English/ p. 4.

416 /148 cont./ Almost all Tongan households also have smaller or larger mirrors, and
805 in some houses one even sees alarm clocks and vases with paper
353 flowers as a special adornment. The crepe-paper strips in garish
353 colors probably also became common as ornaments in dwellings (they often hang on the posts and suspended from the beams, because they are something special on the islands which are rather monotonous in color, just as the newspaper clippings and magazine illustrations on the posts and crossbeams are coveted because of their "curiosity-value." Various dwellings display, as decoration, more or less faded photographs of family members taken on the main islands. One very rarely finds
207 radios in Tongan houses; the reason may be less because of the difficulty of obtaining sets, but rather the inconvenience of providing them with dry cell batteries or accumuators. However, as a result of
404 the adoption of European textiles, sewing machines have become widely
177 used. One often sees the small hand-crank machines which are so practical for the Tongan way of sitting; but one also comes across treadle sewing machines, older ones as well as recent cabinet type
296 machines. For laundering textiles probably all households today are provided with zinc tubs and washboards, and in many households one
411 sees heavy flat irons heated with coconut shells. The weapons (clubs
178 and spears) which in the old sources are counted among the "household
177 equipment" have long since disappeared; only occasionally one sees
415 an old European shotgun. In the cook huts, now and then in the
177 dwellings, one still finds some of the traditional wooden bowls and basins which are being more and more replaced by the easily obtainable enamel basins, aluminum bowls and zinc tubs, just as the /149/ clay pots formerly imported from Fiji (393)

393. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 284.

or made in Tonga (?) (394)

394. W.C. McKern, Archaeology of Tonga /cited in English/ p. 117 ff.

/274 cont./

871 and stories they have heard, and a truly full knowledge of this island
814 world may be assumed among only about half of these men and women. The essentials of world geography are known to approximately 25 - 80 percent, depending on their age group; for instance, there are some who are even able to draw an outline map of Europe from memory.

191 About one-fifth of the older generation and about one-third of the younger generation know English well to reasonably well (that is, they have the ability to understand English and to make themselves understood. (746)

[197] [192] [198]

746. The Tongan language has remained the common national language and, aside from the adoption of a number of words (for the newer concepts) borrowed from English, it apparently has not substantially changed, although for more than a century many Tongans have become acquainted with the English language (see, for example, J.E. Erskine, Journal of a cruise... /cited in English/ London 1853. p. 162).

178 This knowledge, however, has little practical effect on the every-
177 day life of the broad masses of natives. The essential activity needed
[191] for their subsistence is still based on the old, traditional knowledge.
[805] The Tongans of the younger generation, however, follow today for the most part the European calendar, in planting and harvesting, whereas half of the middle-aged and probably all of the old generation prefer the old Tongan "calendar"; (747)

[821]

747. The December new moon is the first moon of the year; See E.E.V. Collocott, "Tongan astronomy and calendar" /cited in English/ B.P.B.M. Occ. Papers, col. VIII, no. 4. 1922.

weddings and other festivities, however, are quite generally scheduled
803 according to the European calendar. Arithmetic has gained a certain significance in the everyday life of the natives, especially in selling
000 their copra and in their shopping in stores. Many older Tongan men and

/274 cont./ Many older Tongan men and
805 829 women still /275/ can not tell their age, (748)

748. Years were not counted in ancient Tongan times (see ibid. p. 164).

whereas members of the middle-aged generation and especially the young
212 are mostly able to give their exact year of birth. For most of the natives reading is limited to the study of the bible and other church
[205] writings. The average native needs to write only when he has to sign his name to a document; they seldom write a letter to a relative or friend, although there is postal service in the Archipelago.

772 823 177 The conception of the world (749)

749. In ancient Tongan times the natives apparently visualized the world as flat with abrupt precipices on the edges (see J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 134), and they believed there were a number of superimposed sky-domes (see E.E.V. Collcott, Collcott, "Tongan astronomy"... pp. 157/158). For the natives their Archipelago was, of course, the most important of all island territories and, in a way, the center of their known world.

of these islanders was changed fundamentally not only by their Christianization, (750)

750. See p. 375 ff.

772 177 but also by the knowledge imparted in their schools. The knowledge and belief of the whites took the place of the old myths and tales. Geography and history, cosmology (751)

[821] 751. Modern cosmology, however, did not lead to a revival of a thorough knowledge of the stars which the old Tongans had and which was lost through the use of the compass (see E.E.V. Collocott, "Tongan astronomy..." pp. 157/158).

and European division of time brought a rational conception of the world which was relatively well understood and adopted by many natives. For
[771] most of these natives it is not to be separated from the religious
[212] conception of the world of Christianity in which it seems embedded
[538]